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Secret Ballot

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Homer tells us that Sarpedon wounds Pedasos in his right shoulder, thus indicating that he is the right-hand trace horse, not the left as Exekias has shown him. But since Exekias chose to depict the chariot moving to left (for the reason given above), it would have been virtually impossible to show the right-hand trace horse as the fallen one, and Exekias opted for the solution that made his dramatic illustration more immediately intelligible. That Exekias omitted the spear from the dying horse's shoulder may be explained, I think, by realizing that without the presence of Sarpedon, who hurled it, the appearance of the spear would have little meaning and also the diagonal of its shaft might have marred the unity of the composition.

Lastly, the three warriors who run alongside the team on the right, their spears and shields ready, surely stand for the many Myrmidons who accompanied Patroklos into battle on that dreadful day. The one in oriental dress may be Teukros, the half-brother of Telamonian Ajax who, although not specifically mentioned by Homer as accompanying Patroklos, very likely was there, since the poet earlier in the same book tells us that Ajax had his spear fixed on Hektor, but was unsuccessful in bringing him down.²⁰

Representations of Patroklos do not appear often on vases, and the best known, of course, are the ones that show the fierce struggle for his body, a subject that is first assured on the Agora calyx-krater by Exekias, which has the names inscribed.²¹ Other themes are not so well known. Most important among these is the late Corinthian hydria, formerly in the Astarita collection in Naples, that shows the Aristeia of Patroklos with all the names inscribed.²² Here, Sarpedon lies face down on the ground, mortally wounded, while Patroklos rushes to left alongside the chariot driven by Alkimos. Since publication of this vase by Arena in 1967, Bothmer has added a large fragment that gives most of the chariot team as well as the figures of Ajax, Paris, and Polydamas, the son of Panthoos, a Trojan elder (to be published in a catalogue of the Astarita vases). This ambitious, lively scene captures the true spirit and flavor of this eventful Trojan day as told to us by Homer.

Among other representations of Patroklos, one may mention the kantharos in Berlin by the Sokles Painter where Achilles and Patroklos depart from Thetis, accompanied by Menelaos, Odysseus, and Menestheus, an

episode set in Phthia²³; and the stamnos in the Villa Giulia by the Kleophrades Painter that shows Patroklos taking leave of Achilles on the day he was slain by Hektor.²⁴ In other scenes where Patroklos appears, the representation is less easily associated with a specific literary passage. A good example is the famous cup in Berlin by the Sosias Painter where Achilles bandages the arm wound of Patroklos.²⁵ Others are the Corinthian aryballos in Basel or the two fragments of an Attic kantharos from Naukratis by the KY Painter, which show Patroklos (his name inscribed) in a chariot.²⁶ These may depict the setting out of Patroklos and Automedon on the fateful day, as suggested by Friis Johansen in his discussion of the Basel aryballos,²⁷ but it is difficult to be absolutely certain.

If our interpretation of the obverse panel on the Roß amphora is correct, it adds a new Patroklos subject to the repertoire of Trojan themes in Greek vase painting. The killing of Sarpedon, a son of Zeus, was the most glorious moment in the war for Patroklos, but Exekias chose to focus on an earlier episode, the one that precedes the deaths of king and hero. Yet, in a vivid manner, his illustration foreshadows the two terrible events that will take place on the Trojan plain before the day ends.

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SECRET BALLOT

(Pl. 77, fig. 1)

The amphora by the Syleus Painter in Kansas City presents on its main side a picture still unexplained, and, in keeping with the lackluster painting, few clues for interpretation (pl. 77, fig. 1).¹ Athena stands in the center, holding a phiale. On the right a warrior, helmet in hand and shield at his side, holds a leaf by the stem halfway in the phiale, as if he were putting it in, or lifting it out. The first possibility should be preferred, in view of the gesture of another warrior, on the left, who also holds a leaf by the stem and reaches out toward the phiale. Athe-

²⁰ *Il.* 16, 358–63.

²¹ Agora A-P 1044: *ABV* 145, 19; *Paralipomena* 60, 19. For the subject, cf. *AJA* 84 (1980) 421–24, with earlier bibliography. The Pezzino Group calyx-krater in Agrigento (*ARV*² 32, 2; *Paralipomena* 324, 2) may represent Menelaos and Meriones lifting the body of Patroklos to carry it back to the Greek camp (*Il.* 17, 715–41). Cf. P. Arias, "Morte di un eroe," *ArchCl* 21 (1969) 190–203, esp. 196–201; also, K. Schefold, "Tod des Patroklos," *Homenaje a Garcia Bellido* 2 (Revista de la Universidad Complutense 25, Madrid 1976) 101–103.

²² Now in the Vatican. Cf. R. Arena, *Le iscrizioni corinzie su vasi* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Serie

VIII, vol. XIII, Rome 1967) 108, no. 71 and pl. 21.

²³ Berlin 1737: *Paralipomena* 72, 1. For the subject, cf. K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967) 113–15.

²⁴ Villa Giulia 26040: *ARV*² 188, 63; *Paralipomena* 341, 63.

²⁵ Berlin 2278: *ARV*² 21, 1; *Paralipomena* 323, 1.

²⁶ Basel, pvt.: Friis Johansen (supra n. 23) 76, fig. 17; Cambridge N 131.71 joining London B 601.14: *ABV* 26, 29.

²⁷ Friis Johansen (supra n. 23) 76.

¹ Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum 30.13; *ARV*² 249.1.

na turns her head toward an old man at her elbow, who addresses her with his right hand raised.

Beazley connected the scene with one on an early classical volute-krater in Ferrara, where, on two levels, are situated Athena and heroes holding small twigs.² The ceremony has been understood as a purification, perhaps of the Argonauts after the murder of king Kyzikos, or as a supplication, possibly of the Argonauts before their departure from Iolkos, or as a representation of the gods and heroes of Marathon, inspired by the painting in the Stoa Poikile.³ A different explanation was offered by Simon, who saw in the scene an illustration of the Theban cycle, corresponding in subject to the picture on the other side.⁴ The heroes would be Argive suppliants who have come to Athens with Adrastus as their leader to ask for help against the Thebans, who prohibited the burial of those who had fallen in the expedition of the Seven. This view is accepted by Berge in the recent publication of the vase in Kansas City, where the connection between the two vases is maintained.⁵ The amphora would then show Polyneikes and Tydeus of Kalydon or two of the Epigonoï (the two warriors), with Adrastus (the old man) imploring Athena's help.

There is an obvious problem with this interpretation: suppliants carry branches, or at least twigs as they do on the Ferrara volute-krater, but not single leaves. The literary references are clear on this point.⁶ Our sources allow two other explanations: the warriors are drawing out oracular lots; or they are putting in voting ballots.⁷ Neither is impossible or certain, but we think that the second possibility is more likely.

There is some evidence for leaves being used for oracular lots, but it is exiguous and uncertain. Kallimachos connects Apollo and the *thriai*, who were apparently prophetic nymphs, and Apollodoros glosses *thria* as "leaves of fig or grape."⁸ Since Athena is connected with the *thriai* in later sources,⁹ one might be tempted to bring in the amphora as support for Amandry's suggestion that Athena may originally have had an important place in

Delphic prophecy.¹⁰ Support may also be found in Zenobios, who contrasts Philochoros' view with others who say "Athena invented prophecy through *psephoi*."¹¹ This tempting confection, however, collapses under its own weight. Both Zenobios and the sources connecting Athena with *thriai* speak of "mantic pebbles (*psephoi*)" not leaves; in any case the relevant leaves are fig or grape, whereas the leaves on the amphora are pointed olive or laurel.¹² We may conclude with Jacoby that "there is no reliable evidence for Athena being connected with divination either in Athens or elsewhere."¹³

The second possibility, that the warriors are voting, has considerably more to recommend it. First, there is evidence that in historical times voting was done with leaves. Two examples, often cited, are *petalismos*, the Syracusan leaf-ostracism, and *ekphyllophoria*, leaf-voting preliminary to a vote (*psephos*) for expulsion from the Athenian Boule.¹⁴ In addition, a Hellenistic inscription from Keos describes a vote for a religious office that used a leaf ballot: "the most outstanding men (are) to choose men for the new office by writing one (name) on each leaf, just as with the archon, and those who obtain the greater number of leaves are to be in charge."¹⁵ Apparently, the archon was elected by a leaf-vote as well.¹⁶

From the late fifth century onward, then, evidence of leaf-voting is not lacking. What is perhaps its earliest mention, nearly contemporary with the Kansas City vase, and especially pertinent because it is in a mythological context, is unfortunately of controversial interpretation. The passage is Pindar's *Isthmian* 8.42–44, where the words ending the episode of the quarrel of Zeus and Poseidon over Thetis, "Let not the daughter of Nereus place the leaves of disputes (*νεικέων πέταλα*) in our hands twice," were taken to refer to ballots with leaves, until Farnell questioned this assumption because "it is most improbable that he or the Aeginetans would be aware of the Sicilian or the Athenian practice, even if the latter had existed in his time."¹⁷ If the practice was as

² Ferrara T 579, *ARV*² 612.1; N. Alfieri and P.E. Arias, *Spina* (Munich 1958) 43–46, pls. 42, 44.

³ A summary of proposed interpretations is given by Alfieri and Arias (supra n. 2).

⁴ E. Simon, "Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter," *AJA* 67 (1963) 54–56.

⁵ L. Berge in W.G. Moon ed., *Greek Vase-painting in Mid-western Collections* (Chicago 1979) 155–57.

⁶ For a collection of literary references, see C. Collard, *Euripides Supplices* 2 (Groningen 1975) 107.

⁷ A third possibility is that they are putting in inscribed leaves for an allotment much as the Greek warriors put inscribed lots in Agamemnon's helmet in *Iliad* 7.175.

⁸ Kallimachos, *Hymn to Apollo* 45; Apollodoros, *FGrH* 244 F 153.

⁹ *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Θρία*; Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. *Θρία*; Zenobios (see infra n. 11). The sources are collected by Jacoby, *FGrH* 3 b supp. 1 p. 559.

¹⁰ P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris 1950) 29.

¹¹ *FGrH* 328 F 195.

¹² K. Latte (*RE* s.v. Orakel, 831) concluded that the evidence for oracular lots is "sehr spärlich."

¹³ Jacoby, *FGrH* 3 b supp. 2 p. 451. Recently F. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford 1978) 47, has challenged such skepticism on the grounds that Kallimachos several times connects Athena or Athens with prophecy. The question, then, is what constitutes "reliable evidence."

¹⁴ On *petalismos*, see Diodoros 11.87: for the Athenian *ekphyllophoria* in the fourth century, see Aischines 1.111 and, in general, E.S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (Ithaca N.Y. 1972) 94, 114–15.

¹⁵ *IG* 12 (5) 595 A 10–13. We have translated the editor's supplements in *IG*, which seem to be reasonable.

¹⁶ In each case the leaves are used for writing a name, constituting a nominating ballot, for which the usual official ballots or pebbles were useless, and so we need not conclude with Staveley, (supra n. 14) 94, that "we cannot be sure either how these leaves were used, or indeed why they were used, in such votes."

¹⁷ L.R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* 2 (London 1932) 381.

widespread as the Keos inscription suggests, this objection collapses.¹⁸

Finally, not only can we easily connect Athena with voting in general (one thinks of Aischylos' *Eumenides*), but there is a well known voting among epic warriors with which Athena is connected in vase-painting—the award of the arms of Achilles. The vote is the subject of the exterior scene on eight red-figure cups, all, like the amphora, dating to the first quarter of the fifth century, all remarkably consistent in their basic scheme.¹⁹ They show a central table, or rather dais, on which the Greek chieftains place their pebbles in full view of all concerned. Normally Athena supervises the voting, standing on the far side of the dais.

On the amphora by the Syleus Painter, the action, the presence of Athena, the date itself, corresponding to the brief currency of the subject on vases, all suggest that the scene shows the vote in the contest for Achilles' arms. But it differs from the other representations in two crucial respects: Athena shares the central focus with an old man; the voting is done with leaves, not pebbles and the votes cast are not tidily piled in the open but deposited in a bowl. This is, in other words, a secret ballot.²⁰ In both these details, the amphora seems to stand in closer agreement with the literary traditions of the story than does the series of cups.

Our sources on the epic tradition make no mention of a vote.²¹ The fullest account occurs in the *Little Iliad*, in which the rival claims of Ajax and Odysseus were met by

He is opposing a *communis opinio* that goes back at least to L. Dissen, *Pindari Carmina* 2 (Gotha 1830) 599. He is followed by E. Thummer, *Die isthmischen Gedichte* 2 (Heidelberg 1969) 136; but see W.J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) s.v. *πέταλον*.

¹⁸ Farnell (supra n. 17) interprets the phrase metaphorically, citing as parallels fr.326 Sn., *Paean* 1.10, Bacchylides 5.186 (Thummer adds 1.4.27), goes on to criticize Pindar for such a comparatively awkward usage and concludes that "the phrase in this ode is the more difficult because Pindar chooses the plural *νεκῶν*, which does not give us a true abstraction" (382). This objection vanishes, of course, if the phrase is taken literally.

¹⁹ The cups have been assembled and discussed by D. Williams, "Ajax, Odysseus and the Arms of Achilles," *AntK* 23 (1980) 138–41. The gesture of the warrior on the left in the scene on the Kansas City amphora is closely matched by that of the men casting their vote: see for instance the cup by the Brygos Painter in the British Museum, E 69, *ARV*² 369.2; Williams 140, pl.35.2, the second figure from the left.

²⁰ Lysias (13.37) characterizes an open ballot as one in which the *psēphos* was placed on a table, as opposed to a secret one, in which the votes were cast in an urn.

²¹ C. Robert, *Bild und Lied* (Berlin 1881), thinks that the fifth century tradition, including the vote, goes back to the *Aithiopis* for two reasons: this is the "einfache Fassung" not the "gekünstelte Fassung der kleinen Ilias" which strives "die frühere poetische Behandlung zu überbieten" (221); and only through a vote can we explain "der Hass des Aias gegen die Atriden und sein späterer Wahnwitz" (218). But there is no evidence in epic for Ajax's hate of the Atreidai and Robert's theory necessitates treating *Odyssey* 11.547 as an interpolation, as he realizes.

²² On the development of the story see C. Robert, *Die grie-*

Nestor with a stratagem. Scouts were sent to eavesdrop at the walls of the Trojans to learn of the enemy's opinion of the contending heroes. The scouts reported the conversation of two girls. The first had praised Ajax's courage in rescuing Achilles' body from the battlefield, but the second, bewitched by Athena, grossly belittled the deed.²² In the fifth century writers, on the other hand, we find the story of a vote by the Achaeans, in which, as far as we know, Nestor and Athena play no role. In Aischylos' *Hoplōn Krisis*, Ajax and Odysseus each argued their right in a formal speech, which was probably followed by a vote.²³ Pindar, *Nemean* 8.25–26, says that "the greatest reward is raised up for shifting falsehood, for in secret vote (*κρυφαῖσι ψάφοις*) the Danaïans served Odysseus," while in Sophokles' *Ajax*, Teukros accuses Menelaos of having stolen votes as a "vote-maker" (*ψηφοποιός*, 1135). Pindar's "secret ballot" corresponds to the depiction on the amphora but not on the cups, where, moreover, the open ballot precludes any tampering of the sort suggested by Teukros in the *Ajax*.²⁴ In leaf ballots, on the other hand, the possibilities for cheating are plentiful, and, by analogy with the manufacture of ostraka, an explanation of *ψηφοποιός* may be suggested. The "vote-making" of which Menelaos is accused refers perhaps to the writing of the names on the leaves in such a manner that some, meant to be cast for Ajax, bore instead Odysseus' name.²⁵

In the matter of the secret vote, the amphora by the Syleus Painter seems to reflect the fifth century version

chische Heldensage II,3,2.1 (Berlin 1923) 1198–1207, A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Paris 1928) 328–31, J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Ajax* (Leiden 1953) 1–6, and Williams (supra n. 19) 142–43. For the *Little Iliad*, see Proclus, *Chrestomathy* and the scholion to Aristophanes, *Knights* 1056. This account need not differ from the Homeric mention of the episode (*Odyssey* 11.547), in which Odysseus attributes his victory to the children of the Trojans and to Athena. Scholion H to the passage gives another story, that Agamemnon questioned some Trojan prisoners and awarded the arms to Odysseus on the basis of their reply (see Robert, *Heldensage* 1199 n. 5). Robert (supra n. 21) 221, concludes that this story is clearly derived from the *Odyssey* line, "augenscheinlich erst aus dem Odysseus erschlossen," but other critics (e.g., Severyns 331, Kamerbeek 2) take the story more seriously. In any case, neither account involves a vote.

²³ H.J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 121–24; Williams (supra n. 19) 142.

²⁴ N.O. Brown, "Pindar, Sophocles and the Thirty Years' Peace," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 15 n. 23, and apparently Williams (supra n. 19) 142, take *κρυφαῖσι ψάφοις* (N.8.25–26) not as "secret" but as "crooked" ballots. On this point, see *LSJ* s.v. *ψῆφος* II 5 a and C. Carey, "Pindar's eighth Nemean Ode," *PCPS* 202 (1976) 31.

²⁵ Ostraka inscribed in the same handwriting show that ready-made ballots were handed out; see O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 228–43. Note that on a fragment of a cup by Makron (Akropolis 315, *ARV*² 459.11) on which the figures are identified by painted inscriptions, Agamemnon hands a pebble to one of the voters: O. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin 1929–33) pl. 19.

of the award of the arms, but in that context the presence of the old man at Athena's side is difficult to explain. His central position and his association with the goddess indicate that his presence is meaningful. The obvious identification is Nestor, who plays a role in the epic version of the story down to Quintus of Smyrna.²⁶ Neither he nor Athena, however, is mentioned in fifth century sources. All we can say is that the Syleus Painter shows a knowledge of both the epic tale of Nestor's stratagem with Athena's intervention and of the fraudulent secret ballot of the Achaeans. The source for the picture may conceivably be an unknown literary account, but we should be closer to the truth by postulating a folk version, or understanding, of the story.²⁷ No better adherence to the literary tradition of the fifth century as we know it is shown by the scenes on the cups, where Athena is present, openly favoring Odysseus,²⁸ the vote is public, and the occasion for mischief apparently non-existent.

In the scheme of representation of the voting, the Kansas City amphora corresponds to no other. In this respect its condition is like that of another pot, the black-figure pelike in Naples, which shows the speech of Odysseus.²⁹ The cups, on the other hand, are all in essential agreement.³⁰ They correspond in choice of moment: the final stage of the ballot, not, as on the amphora, its progress. Ajax is depicted as a sorrowful figure on the right, Odysseus can be recognized as the imminent victor on the left. Agamemnon is also there, dressed in the costume of kings, with a long dress and mantle, and holding a staff. There are variations. On the Bareiss cup the voting is just over: Athena stands behind Odysseus as he receives the armor from Agamemnon.³¹ The most radical departure is on Leiden PC 75, perhaps significantly the latest piece: an abridged version of the scene is given in the tondo, and again on the exterior, with the omission of Ajax, Odysseus, and Agamemnon; the other side shows Odysseus wearing the prize, and the despair of Ajax.³² Other secondary details, such as dress, and the choice of scenes decorating the other exterior side and the tondo, vary from one cup to the next. The consistencies, however, are such that they point to a common source. This source may have been a story, provided that we postulate just one current version of the legend. Or it may have been a painting, from which the scenes on the cups

would derive not as faithful copies, but as variations on a visual theme.³³ If on the contemporary amphora by the Syleus Painter we have a radically different iconography, which corresponds in essential parts to the story as we know it from literary sources, the scales tip in favor of the second possibility.³⁴

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ADDENDUM

A note by H.A. Shapiro, also suggesting that the scene on the Kansas City amphora represents voting in connection with the award of the arms of Achilles, appeared in *BABesch* 56 (1981) 149–50, while this note was in press.

A NEW METHOD FOR THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDING OF ARCHITECTURAL CUTTINGS AND DRESSINGS

(Pl. 77, figs. 2–3)

Among the most elusive of architectural features are the cuttings and dressings that are preserved on blocks of ancient masonry. A list need not be exhaustive to illustrate such features: surfaces smoothly dressed to receive blocks, columns, statue bases, etc.; pry holes or cuttings for dowels, door jambs, roof beams, movable stage scenery, or for the ubiquitous stelai that appear in front of buildings. The discovery or observation of such architectural features accompanied by a correct interpretation of them is often vital to the complete understanding of a building. For example, no one has ever seen a roof on a Greek temple, yet a considerable amount of information about Greek roofs is preserved in the still-extant cuttings made to accommodate the roof beams.¹ In extreme cases where the remaining evidence for a monumental struc-

²⁶ *Posthomerica* 5, 157–79: Trojan captives are admitted among the judges to the contest on Nestor's advice.

²⁷ On the problem of the sources of inspiration of the vase-painters see A.M. Snodgrass, "Poet and painter in eighth-century Greece," *PCPS* 205 (1979) 118–30.

²⁸ See Williams (supra n. 19) 139.

²⁹ H 3358, *ABV* 338.3 (near the Rycroft Painter); Williams (supra n. 19) 142 pl. 36.6, with references.

³⁰ Of three fragmentary cups, there are no published illustrations and we rely on the account by Williams (supra n. 19) 139–40.

³¹ New York L. 69.11.35 (Bareiss 346), *Paralipomena* 367.1 bis; Williams (supra n. 19) 141 pl. 36.2.

³² *ARV*² 416.7; Williams (supra n. 19) 141 pl. 36.3–5.

³³ Williams, (supra n. 19) 142–43, favors the hypothesis that derives the scenes from a non-visual source. On the problem of the so-called "sketchbooks," see J. Boardman, "Exekias," *AJA* 82 (1978) 11, and compare K. Schauenburg, "Achilleus als Barbar: ein antikes Missverständnis," *AuA* 20 (1974) 95.

³⁴ We are grateful to Professor M.L. Lang for her helpful advice.

¹ A.T. Hodge, *The Woodwork of Greek Roofs* (Cambridge 1960). Also concerned with Greek roofs is a masterly study by W.B. Dinsmoor, Jr., which demonstrates how much can be gained from close attention to cuttings and dressings: "The Temple of Poseidon: A Missing Sima and Other Matters," *AJA* 78 (1974) 211–38.



FIG. 1. Amphora by the Syleus Painter, Kansas City 30.13. (Photo Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City)

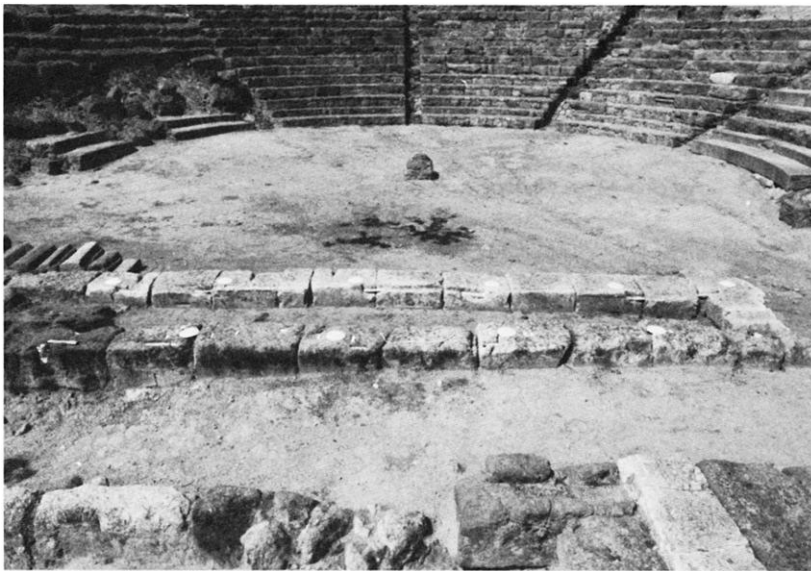


FIG. 2. Morgantina Theater. Two stylobates on western side of stage building, orchestra and lower part of cavea. (Photo author)

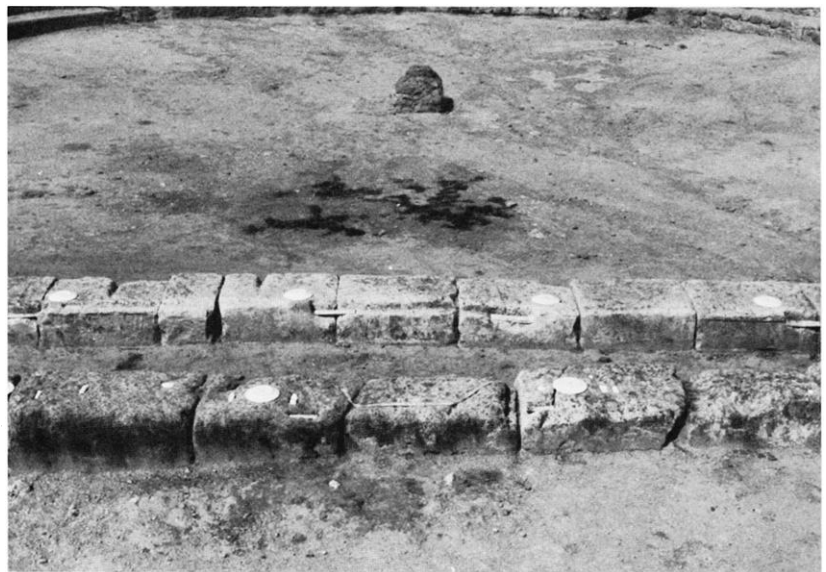


FIG. 3. Morgantina Theater. Detail of the central part of the two stylobates. (Photo author)